/142 cont'd/

Ma 586 (earnest). They pay it back only in the case, if it is paid and the bride runs away with someone else just before the wedding. Such cases are absolutely exceptional... all this question must be reported to the clan. /Cited in English, with French interpolation, indicated by parentheses./

Mo 586 A case can occur in which the wife is the only guilty one. It is natural then that the wife's family does not require compensation, etc. I have never, however, heard it said that the guilty wife's family had to give back to the injured son-in-law the earnest received at the time of the marriage.

Mo 586 554 /143/ On the question of repudiation let us note that it is necessary to take account of many circumstances, of which one of the main ones is the economic status of the wife's family, the influence this family enjoys in the region, and above all the fact of having among its members people who will know how to cope with the husband's family in spite of everything. One must also take into account the power of the husband's family, which if it has influential protectors can allow itself to be prepared for all eventualities. In the Orient especially, it is not enough to have rights, it is necessary to be able to defend them.

C. Exchange of Married Women

Mo 437 593 587 I cannot pass by in silence the case of four families of Hong-ngai-tse-keou, who without recourse to divorce or repudiation got rid of their wives by mutually exchanging them, without further ceremony; the children remained in the families where they were born. All was arranged without go-betweens, contract, or expenses, by common agreement among those concerned.

These are the only cases of this practice which have come to my knowledge, and I think they are isolated cases which prove

Mo /143 cont'd/
437 nothing. Public opinion strongly disclaimed this practice and the
593 elders did not admit it. (1)
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1. David Macdonald, Moeurs et coutumes des Thibétains /Practices and Customs of the Tibetans/, p. 136: Another singular usage, but one which is practiced only in high circles, is that two men exchange their wives by mutual consent. The latter are consulted on the question, and their consent to the combination must be obtained.

Dr. Herbert König, op. cit., p. 137: Wife Exchange. It is also incorrect when Graebner says that it is precisely in the region of the Old Asiatic peoples that the custom flourishes most.... It is much more common generally among the Eskimo tribes known so far, and it is present among practically all of them, while among the Old Asiatics it is not known at all by the Korjak, far from it, and the Jukugir, too, have only a weak tendency toward it. /Cited in German./

Mo /144/ I think I must point out the influence of Tibetan practices
587 especially for this singular case. Indeed, each year one sees several
437 T'ou-jen of Hong-ngai-tse-keou go to Tibet to sell mules from the
593 Sining region. It would not be surprising if these T'ou-jen traders
177 learned about this custom in Tibet and practiced it later.

In 1914, in Nien pe, I encountered the unusual case of a lama not enlisted in any monastery, who came back from Mongolia with 40 loaded camels, to the home of his brother in Kang-tzu Valley, after a trip which had lasted for sixteen years. The shrewd lama had collected alms for himself! He died a few days after his return. His brother thereafter was a rich man.

A large capital investment is required for such expeditions. The intendancies buy all kinds of things used by the nomad Tibetans and Mongols. They carry prayer books, paintings and statues of Buddhas, spoons, wooden cups, teapots, kettles, thread of all colors, needles, boots, cotton, silk, satin, combs, tobacco, saddles from Peking, bridles, stirrups, finger and ear rings, charm boxes, toothpicks, ear probers, tweezers, prickers (necessary for the performance of the toilet), cheap synthetic jewelry, and tea.

All these things are loaded on oxen and entrusted to loyal and dependable lamas of the intendancies who set out on the journey. All along the way they sell their wares, adding to each item a scarf of felicity, blessed by their Buddha at home. The trade is carried on by barter. They accept wool, skins, yak hair, butter, sheep, cows, and horses, claiming they are collecting alms. When the animals they collect along the way become too numerous, they hire Tibetans or Mongols to help drive them. Because they get twice or thrice the cost of the wares and because labor has little value, these expeditions are really remunerative. However, if it happens that a caravan of another intendancy precedes their own, and the Tibetans or Mongols do not need anything more, then "fishing after the net is a losing business"; but according to the figures noted above, the expeditions are usually very profitable.

TAXES

At the seasonal festivals, held on the grounds of the monastery, taxes are collected by the lamas from the merchants of the city, who pitch their tents and do business on their territory, and from the Tibetans and Monguors who sell animals and their primitive homespun products.

MONEYLENDING

Lending of money at the Chinese legal rate of 30 per cent interest is the most important source of revenue for the intendancies. The lending of money is far more remunerative than the purchase of land and mortgages, which afford more security. However, the intendancies prefer the bigger interest.

Intendancies dispose of capital to secure the annual subsidy granted to the lamas, the purchase of the important quantity of butter to be burned in the temple lamps, the expenses for the purchase of all the items required for the expeditions in Mongolia, Kukunor and Ts'aidam, and the expenses of the fixed festivals held at the monasteries. Besides these the intendancies dis-

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

ceived from the Ming emperor the invitation to surrender. In 1373 he had not yet answered the summons, and the prominent T'u-ssu T'o-erh chih-shih-chieh was ordered to induce him to submit. In 1374 his delegates arrived at court with the submission. The following year the emperor created the two commanderies of An-ting and A-tuan, and to Pu-yen-pu-hua was granted the title of Prince of An-ting (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 23*b*; *Annals* of Hsining 31: 9*b*).

In 1374 the T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was ordered to induce the barbarians dispersed all over the country of Huangchung to submit to the Ming emperor (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 9*b*).

In 1375 T'u-ssu Lu followed the expedition of General Pu Yin against the rebel Mongol T'o-erh-chih-pa in Liangchow, to whose army a severe blow was administered. The rebel managed to escape. The emperor invited T'u-ssu Lu to call at Nanking to receive the imperial congratulations. On account of illness he was prevented from moving to the capital.

In 1376 Hsining T'u-ssu Wang was ordered to participate in another expedition of General Feng Sheng in Liangchow region against the Mongols, plundering the country. Shih-chi-ku, Nan-t'ai and others surrendered with 1,000 men, and also the Mongol T'o-lin, with his 2,200 subjects (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40*b*).

In 1377 T'u-ssu Wang was ordered to join the expedition of General Pu Yin against the Tartar chief Yeh-su-t'o-huo and others who again plundered the Liangchow country. They suffered a severe blow and 1,000 of their brigands were killed. Then T'u-ssu Wang followed the expedition of General Feng Sheng in Kanchow and Suchow where 1,890 families surrendered (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40*b*).

In 1378 T'u-ssu Lu Ah-shih-t'u, oldest son of T'o Huan, fought and took prisoner Ta-kuan-tieh-chih, a chief of plundering Tibetans, living in the mountains between Ku Lang and Liangchow.

General Teng Yu in 1370 had pacified the country of Kui Te situated 220 li south of Hsining, on the southern borders of the Yellow River. In 1376 he had founded the So of Kui Te, leaving a garrison of 500 horse troops and 500 colonists, ordering them to till the soil and provide the subsistence of the garrison (*Annals* of Hsining 25: 15*b*; *Annals* of Kansu 57: 2*a*). In 1378 Kui Te was attacked and plundered by the Tibetan Ha la kui (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 9*a*; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 25*b*), who also devastated the Kokonor region. T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was ordered to fight the brigands (Monguors I: 34).

BUREAU FOR EXCHANGE OF TEA AGAINST HORSES

The year 1378 was very important on account of the establishment of the bureau for the exchange of tea against horses. Each year 3,500 horses would be exchanged in the city: first-class horses exchanged for

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120 pounds of tea, second-class horses for 70 pounds of tea, and third-class horses for 50 pounds of tea. Every tribe under submission was taxed a definite number of horses to be exchanged at the bureau.[71]

The very first bureau had been established in 1376 in Ch'in Chou in East Kansu, but on account of the distance between Ch'in Chou and An-ting and A-tuan, and the inconvenience of travel through the provinces, a bureau had later been established in Hsining (*Annals* of Hsining 17: 3*b*).

The importance of the trading of tea for horses cannot be overrated. On the one hand, it was a means for the nomads to get rid of their horses and secure tea. Tibetans as well as Mongols cannot do without tea, and the stronger the concoction the more delightful it is to them. Even when traveling or indulging in hunting parties where tea could not be prepared, they chewed the tea leaves. The craving for tea among the nomads may be compared with the craving for opium among addicts. On the other hand, the trade was very beneficial to the Chinese. First of all, the cavalry got its badly needed horses in an easy way, and the officials of the bureau also benefitted. They evaluated the quality of the horses according to the gratuity offered by the nomad, cheating in the quality of the tea, and putting the transaction off indefinitely, making the customers wait for weeks on end, or helping them immediately, according to the gratuity presented. Squeeze was the rule in the bureau.

The first benefitters were the traders. The exchange of horses was a boon for the city. Traders from all over Szechwan and Shensi provinces moved into the city with the wares the nomads needed, in addition to the tea they brought with them. The nomads were allowed to bring more horses than the number taxed, and they carried wool, skins, musk, etc., to be exchanged for wares. The exchange of horses for tea was the yearly opportunity for the nomads to make a trip to the city and to provide for the needs of the family.

This institution was also an effective means of attracting the nomads to surrender, for only surrendered tribes were allowed to enter the city and transact business. After two years the institution reached fruition. It was an attraction, especially during the troubled times which were ahead, when the tribes, indulging in plundering each other, had to get rid of the stolen horses. It was an attraction also because the surrendered tribes enjoyed the protection of the empire.

In 1379 both Hsining Wang and Chao t'u-ssu were ordered to participate in the expedition of General Mu Yin, sent to quell the revolt of the turbulent eighteen tribes in T'ao Chou (Tibetans? Uighurs? Shat'o?) where the chief San Fu Shih was taken prisoner. Then T'u-ssu Chao was enjoined to follow the expedition of General Fu Yu-te against rebel Mongols in Yunnan

[71] Huang Ming su-i k'ao, Wen tien ko shu-chuang, Peiping, Chiang-fu-ssu chieh, 1937.

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brigands captured. The army returned with a booty of 300,000 camels, horses, sheep, and cows (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 26*b*, 27*a*).

Se-ngo-ko, chief of a Tibetan tribe, was accustomed to stealing horses of neighboring tribes. The commander of Hsining, Mu Su, could not apprehend him. Later the thief arrived at Hsining to sell horses. The commander seized the horses, convinced they were stolen ones, but they were his own. The tribes were upset and about to start a revolt. Li Wen accused the imprudent commander, and the tribes were pacified. Li Wen was promoted (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 12*a*; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 38*a*).

In 1442 T'u-ssu Ch'i Hsien (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 13*a*) was ordered to garrison the commanderies of Ah-tuan and Ch'u-hsien, to protect Anting, and to induce the scattered tribes to come back to their lands and surrender. In 1445 the Oirat chief Esen, who had succeeded his father Togon, who had died in 1439, attacked and occupied Hami. In 1447 Ch'i Hsien (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 45*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 31: 12*b*), t'u-ssu Chao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*), and t'u-ssu Lu followed the expedition of commander Jen I in Sha Chou. In 1448 Wa lo, chief of the Tibetan Pa-sha tribes started plundering Huangchung. T'u-ssu Ch'i Hsien was ordered to fight Wa lo. He succeeded in killing the chief. These tribes had submitted in 1380, their chief controlled 30 or more tribes, which inhabited a country as large as 500 li, starting 60 li north of Hsining and running to the borders of the Ta-t'ung River. Pa Sha was ill-famed for its predatoriness (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 13*a*; 19: 7*b*). In 1450 T'u-ssu Chao and T'u-ssu Lu repelled Mongol invaders in Kao-ssu-yuan (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*). In 1452 T'u-ssu Ch'eng followed commander Su Chieh, fighting Mongols who were plundering Nan-chuan. They pursued them to Su-wu-shan and captured their chiefs (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 36*b*).

During the Cheng T'ung period (1436–50) at the time the northwestern part of Kansu was riven by inroads of Mongols and the t'u-ssu were fighting the Mongols in Kansu and in Turkistan, Liu Ch'uan, commander in Kuei Te (situated south of Hsining on the southern borders of the Yellow River), induced 72 tribes of Tibetans to surrender, promoted cultivation and farming among them, established a tea bureau and every year exchanged 1,740 horses for tea, protected the traders and the communications in the country, built a route and relays connecting the important city of Ho Chou with Kuei Te. The country of Kuei Te was at peace and the people enjoyed the trustful and honest commander (*Annals* of Hsining 25: 16*a*).

The chronicles of the Lu t'u-ssu clan note that during 1450–1464 raids had to be intermittently repelled along the Liangchow and Kanchow borders, perpetrated by the same eastern Mongol groups and some Oirat groups, which ventured to lay waste and devastate even

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Peking, and the emperor agreed. Ping-tu forced the tribes to build a road to Wu-ssu-tsang in order to meet the lama. The entire Szechwan province was upset for fear of invasion by the savage Kokonor brigands. The governor wrote Altan to order his sons to desist from plundering the country. Altan answered that the only reason for the behavior of his sons was the lack of any markets where they could fill their needs. In 1574 markets were opened for Pin-tu and Ping-tu and the emperor granted to the temple of Kokonor the name Yin-hua-sse and the title of vice-commander to Ping-tu. However, the sons and cousins and nephews of Altan plundered as before. Again the officials asked Altan to reprimand them. Altan arrived with his army feigning to meet the lama; however he had an axe to grind with Oirats, his old foes. Coming back, he asked the governor to allow all the Mongol chieftains to attend a meeting with the lama in Kokonor. The Tibetans, taken with panic at the sight of the demonstration of power and magnificence, fled in all directions. Altan returned to the north (1577) but Ho-lo-ch'ih and Yung-chao-pu, his nephew and cousin, and others refused to leave Kokonor, and Ping-tu started plundering the Tibetans again. The officials immediately asked the emperor to close the markets. Altan reprimanded his son and urged him to return the stolen people and cattle. However, Ho-lo-ch'ih continued looting (*Annals* of Hsining 20: 13, 14).[84]

In 1579 the governor of Hsining was engaged in developing agriculture in Huangchung. He gathered the destitute people who had fled with fear of the Mongol brigands, located them in villages, provided them with grain and oxen, dug irrigation canals, etc. In each village he opened a school. He gathered more than 100,000 families, and more uncultivated land was tilled. When Altan left the country in 1577 he had asked him to leave peacefully and to protect the country against more raids by his people (*Annals* of Hsining 25: 20).

Ha-tsa, a Tibetan tribe of Kokonor, raided the western valley of Hsining in 1580, but was repelled. Two

[84] René Grousset, *Empire des Steppes*, 592, Paris, Payot: The Ordos Mongols started professing the lamaism of the Yellow Church from 1566 on. The *jinong* Khutukh Setsen Hung-t'ai-chi of the Uchin banner, coming back from an expedition in Tibet in 1566, had invited lamas to accompany him to Ordos and convert the Mongols to lamaism. The fervent *jinong* succeeded in converting his grand-uncle Altan who at that time was in the heyday of his power (1576). Altan and his grand-nephew invited the chief of the Yellow Church, the great lama bSod-nams rgya-mtso to come to Kokonor. The Mongols met him magnificently and opened with him an official convention at which was laid the foundation of the Yellow Church among the Mongols (1577), and Altan honored the great lama with the title of Dalai Lama, which title is still borne at present by his successors. The Dalai Lama, returning to Lhasa, appointed the Living Buddha Dongkur Manjucri in Kukuhoto the residence of Altan. The Dalai Lama left Lhasa again to travel to Ordos in 1586 for the performance of the cremation ceremonies of Altan who had died in 1583.

[P. 47(B)]

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gols in Kokonor and burn the temple built by Altan. They returned in a flush of triumph with 1,200 captured families. The number of brigands they killed is not known. The Brigadier General Chiao Chi defeated tribes of Ho-lo-ch'ih with the help of Tibetans and beheaded 120 of his men (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 36*b*; *Annals* of Hsining 31: 18*b*).

The energic Cheng Lo must have commanded at the time of his arrival in Huangchung a fair number of fresh troops. Otherwise the shaken confidence in the empire among the Tibetan tribes would not have been restored so quickly. In two years time the outlook had changed and become bright and full of hope for the people, beset for ten years with starvation, squalor and misery, and anxious uncertainty.

The same year the markets, opened for the Mongols in Kansu, were closed on account of their incessant raids and brigandage. The Obedient and Righteous Prince Ch'ih-li-k'o who had assisted at the looting of T'ao and Ming Chou, sent back the abducted people and stolen cattle and presented excuses to the emperor (*Annals* of Hsining 25: 20*a–b*).

In 1594 orders were given to repair and improve again the fortifications of the city of Hsining. More villages and military colonies were built. Maybe the officials had seen some new straws in the wind (*Annals* of Hsining 31; 19*a*). A strong group of Kokonor brigands arrived to plunder the valleys south of Hsining. The Chinese generals Liu Mei-Kuan, Ta Yun, T'ien Yueh had called all the t'u-ssu of Huangchung and captured groups of Tibetans to defend the country. They used flanking movements, skillfully settled ambuscades, and administered a crushing defeat to the raiders, 680 of whom were beheaded. A few months later the brigands came back with all the brigands of Nalu, to loot the valleys west of Hsining. The same generals, t'u-ssu, and Tibetans obtained a resounding victory and killed 700 and more brigands, among them some chieftains (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 37*b*; *Annals* of Hsining 31: 19*a*).

These two victories were the most important ever won in Huangchung. In the report relating the military presentation are encountered the names of the most meritorious military and civil officials who had contributed to the success. We encounter among them the names of T'u-ssu Lu Kuang-tsu, Li Yu-mao, Li Hsien-hua, Ch'eng San-chi, Ch'i Ping-chung and Ch'i Te (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 23*a–b*). A delegate of the ministry of war was sent with titles and gifts to reward the meritorious officials.

Immediately after the victories, in 1596, orders were sent to the military officials to build more walls especially along the roads used by the invaders of Kokonor and Sung Shan, to build fortresses at strategic points and more villages in the valleys for the farmers. The officials expected that the brigands would not take these blows lying down but would avenge themselves by means of new raids. In Cheng-hai-pu in the western

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While the t'u-ssu and their subjects were fighting and suffering and dying in Hsining, the despairing Ming emperor, on April 25, 1644, had hanged himself in the Wan Sui Shan in Peking. On June 6, 1644, the troops of the new Ch'ing dynasty entered Peking and started at full speed with destruction of the troops of Li Tze-ch'eng who had already proclaimed himself emperor. On October 7, 1644, he ended his life by hanging himself.[87]

The t'u-ssu and their subjects served the Ch'ing dynasty with the same faithfulness they had served the Ming dynasty.

At the time the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) started with the occupation of Huangchung, this was an insecure colony of China, which during the previous dynasties had been lost several times and recovered. The Ming organized the country, providing a civil and military administration on the Chinese pattern. In Huangchung they started with the founding of military colonies, induced the Tibetan tribes to submit to them, established the exchange bureau of tea for horses, favored and protected the arrival of traders from inside China, and promoted agriculture and commerce. They attracted Chinese to settle in the country, built schools, promoted education, and repelled forays of Tibetans and Mongols from outside the Huangchung borders. Huangchung was at peace.

However, in the fateful year 1509 the first group of Mongols arrived and settled in Kokonor, followed by one after another, which ruined and cowed into submission the Tibetan tribes of Kokonor. At the same time the population of Huangchung and East Kansu, from 1509 to 1597, succumbed to the recurrent onslaught of avid, restless and predatory Mongols. The Tibetan tribes, robbed of their cattle, having seen their women and young folk abducted, beset with starvation and abject poverty, started raiding, devastating, and laying waste Huangchung and East Kansu. The army could not deter the forces of destruction. Raids prevailed over the entire northwestern borders of the empire, and the emperor gave the Huangchung officers insufficient reinforcements. It was only in 1590 that the energetic Minister of War, Cheng Lo, commanding new forces, succeeded in defeating the brigands. In the meantime the administration had incessantly built cities, villages, schools, walls, and fortresses all over the country. The aspect of the country had changed completely, despite the desperate times. The country had been organized and the administration established.

During these times, when raids and destruction raged unchecked, Chinese and Shat'o and Uighurs, Tibetans and Monguors had suffered together, helped and sheltered each other, and blended and fused in the compound called the Huangchung population.

In 1644 when the Ch'ing dynasty occupied Huangchung it was no longer the depopulated unorganized

[87] Erich Hauer, *op. cit.*, 488, 494, 497.

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 233 463 [466] because of the value of the animals entrusted to them. They are skillful in breeding, and in finding the best pasture. A shepherd is treated as a member of his employer's family; he receives the same food, and the daughters-in-law must show him the same respect they accord to the head of the family.

The Mongours hunt foxes, hares, pheasants and musk deer, N *563 M 224 439 using guns, traps and poison. The fox skins are sold to Chinese merchants and the best skins, used for lining the winter garments of the rich, bring a handsome price. Musk deer are also valuable game. The precious musk glands, used as a special drug or as an essence in perfume, are sold by weight to Chinese dealers.

Fishing is important in Koko Nor, where the lake produces N *563 M 226 an abundant supply. Mongour expeditions go there as soon as the lake has frozen over each winter. They go first to the chief of the Mongol or Tibetan tribe on whose shore they plan to operate, and present gifts such as wine, tobacco, noodles and the traditional ceremonial scarf of felicity in exchange for permission to fish and protection from the tribe. The fishermen usually go to the same territory every year, and become sworn brothers of the chief or some important local nomad. The expedition, which lasts about two months, involves hard work in the bitter cold, M [251] but the profits are sufficient reward. Preservation of the fish is no problem; they freeze immediately after they are caught. They are carried to the market in Hsi-ning, or sold to Moslem merchants who engage in caravan trade.

Mongours carry on their trade largely with Chinese and Chi- N *563 M 438 439 nese Moslem merchants. The Moslems are an energetic and enterprising people who drive caravans of pack mules from house to house in the Mongour country, exchanging cloth, needles and thread for wool, skins, eggs and grain. In the autumn they collect oxen and sheep and drive them in small herds to Hsi-ning. The Chinese merchants do business on a larger scale. They send their representatives to pitch tents and display their wares at lama monastery festivals and at the annual celebrations and meetings of the Mongour clans. During the fall, when the Chinese Moslems are buying up sheep and oxen, the Chinese butchers of the cities send their agents to the Mongour villages to buy hogs. Chinese merchants also send their buyers into Mongour country for wool and skins, going from home to home. There are also peddlers, who deal largely in items needed in the Mongour home, such as needles, colored thread, cotton cloth, M [437] cheap jewelry, sugar and pipe tobacco. Business is always by barter, with the top-ranking woman of the Mongour household doing the bargaining. As the peddler travels a long distance, it is customary to provide him with a place to sleep. Before he leaves he presents the hostess with a small token of apprecia-

N *563 M 439 [438] [543] [437]

tion for her hospitality. Larger scale selling and buying are done at fairs held two or three times a year.

Occasionally an ambitious young Mongour will go into the business of long-distance caravan trade with the Tibetans. He will deal largely in mules and saddle girths woven with white wool, which can be sold readily in Tibet, and bring back wool serge cloth dyed red or purple, or white with red or blue stripes. A heavy fabric, it sheds water, and is highly valued by the Mongours. He will also bring back Tibetan incense, dates and so forth to sell to the Chinese.

N *563 M 461

6. Work and leisure

The traditional life of pastoral nomads is rather free and lazy except at the times of seasonal migration. Descendants of nomads, the Mongours still prefer to enjoy long periods of comparative idleness alternating with short periods of intense activity. In their agricultural economy, however, the Mongour men are unable to be quite so indolent as pastoral nomads.

N *563 M 462

In the farming communities, both men and women work in the fields. The men do the heavy preparatory work, plowing and harrowing; the women help with sowing and weeding, as well as with reaping the harvest and carrying the grains to the threshing floor. Women do the threshing. Like their Mongol sisters, they do the housework and care for the animals. Married women work under the supervision of the oldest, usually the mother-in-law.

N *563 M 562 M [514] M [437] [533]

Although their status is inferior, the Mongour women accept it without resentment. Their outlook is conditioned by their milieu. They know what is expected of them, and behave accordingly. Though bound by strict rules of etiquette, they are entirely free to associate with men, to sing and dance in public, and to enjoy themselves. They delight in attending the big festivals at the lamaseries and the annual assembly of the clan, where they meet their friends and visit, and also show off their fancy costumes and headdress. They love to shop at the fairs, and bargain over goods. Both men and women love to sing. During the long, tedious hours of weeding the fields, men and women sing in unison.

N *563 101

G. The Tibetans

1. The people

Hsi-fan is a name applied by the Chinese to the Amdo Tibetans, and to all other non-Chinese tribesmen from Sung-p'an to Hsi-ning. It means Western Barbarians. Some European scholars have maintained that the Hsi-fan are not Tibetans, and suggest that they represent a northern branch of one of the non-Chinese peoples of southwest China, like the Lolo or Moso.

N *563 199

Granting that there is no such thing as a homogenous Tibetan